Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ARA-10 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 ACDA-12 OMB-01 TRSE-00 /133 W

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R 011530Z AUG 78 FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7459 INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 5629

E. O. 11652: GDS TAGS: PORG

SUBJECT: FIRST YUGOSLAV REACTIONS TO NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE

1. AT FAREWELL DINNER JULY 31 FOR MILJAN KOMATINA (THE NEW YUGOSLAV AMBASSADOR TO THE UN), ATTENDED BY MOST OF THE MAJOR GOY PLAYERS AT THE NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE, THE YUGOSLAVS DEMONSTRATED ACUTE CONCERN OVER POSSIBLE USG REACTIONS TO THE FINAL BELGRADE NA DOCUMENT. LONCAR (FSFA UNDER SECRETARY), KOMATINA AND JOB ALL PULLED ME ASIDE TO EMPHASIZE THE EXTRAA ORDINARILY DIFFICULT TIME THE "MODERATES" HAD ENCOUNTERED IN DEALING WITH THE CUBANS, BUT ALL CLAIMED A RESOUNDING VICTORY ON THE DISPUTE OVER THE "DEFINITION" OF NON-ALIGNMENT. (THE PANAMANIAN AMBASSADOR, WHO WAS ALSO AT THE DINNER, TOLD ME THAT HE HAD TWICE BEEN TOLD BY THE CHIEF OF THE CUBAN DELEGATION THAT BELGRADE WAS A "DEFEAT" FOR THE CUBANS.) JOB ADMITTED, HOWEVER, THAT IT WAS A PURELY TACTICAL VICTORY: MOST OF THE SAME BATTLES WILL HAVE TO BE FOUGHT AGAIN IN HAVANA. BUT HE DID SAY THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT NEXT YEAR FOR THE CUBANS TO TURN THE NAM IN A "LEFTWARD" DIRECTION BECAUSE OF THE CONFIDENTIAL.

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PRECEDENT SET AT THE BELGRADE MEETING.

2. ON PUERTO RICO, THE YUGOSLAVS TOLD ME THAT THE LANGUAGE WAS THE PRODUCT OF THE LATIN AMERICAN CAUCUS, AND THAT THE CUBANS GOT THEIR WAY LARGELY BECAUSE U.S. "FRIENDS" INTERPOSED NO OBJECTIONS.

- 3. WITH REGARD TO THE MIDDLE EAST PORTION OF THE FINAL DOCUMENT, AND THE ZIONISM-IS-RACISM REFERENCES, THE POINT WAS ESSENTIALLY THE SAME: THE MIDDLE EAST CAUCUS PREPARED THE DOCUMENT, THE MODERATE ARAB STATES REMAINED SILENT, AND THE SYRIANS AND ITAQIS HAD THEIR WAY. JOB SAID THAT IN THE GENERAL DEBATE THE INDIANS "GENTLY"TRIED TO MODIFY THE ZIONISM-IS-RACISM REFERENCES, BUT RETREATED QUICKLY IN THE FACE OF A STRONG SYRIAN COUNTERATTACK.
- 4. THE YUGOSLAVS WERE AT PAINS TO POINT OUT THAT THE KOREAN LANGUAGE WAS SUBSTANTIALLY MORE MODERATE THAN IN THE PAST, BUT ADMITTED WHEN PUSHED THAT THIS WAS BECAUSE THE KOREAN DELEGATOON, FOR TACTICAL REASONS (AVOIDANCE OF RESERVATIONS), HAD OPTED FOR MODERATION.
- 5. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS ABOUT U. S. VIEWS ON THE FINAL DOCUMENT I SAID THAT I HAD RECEIVED NO OFFICIAL REACTION, BUT THAT I HAD A NUMBER OF PERSONAL COMMENTS: (A) THE SUCCESS--TEMPORARY THOUGH IT MAY PROVE TO BE--OF THE MODERATES ON THE LANGUAGE RELATING TO THE DEFINITION AND DIRECTION OF NON-ALIGNMENT WAS INDEED IMPORTANT AND THOSE WHO ARE EXPERTS ON NON-ALIGNMENT WILL RECOGNIZE IT AS SUCH. BUT TO THE AVERAGE READER, WHO IS NOT FAMILIAR WITH THE "THEOLOGY", THE LANGUAGE OF THE FINAL DOCUMENT CONFIDENTIAL

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WILL SOUND LIKE GOBBLEDYGOOK. THE LANGUAGE ON THE MIDDLE EAST, ZIONISM-IS-RACISM, PUERTO RICO, AND OTHER CRITICAL PARAGRAPHS, HOWEVER, WILL BE CLEAR TO EVERYONE. THUS, IN TERMS OF U.S. PUBLIC OPINION, THE YUGOSLAVS AND OTHER "MODERATES" SOULD NOT BE SURPRISED IF THE BELGRADE MEETING IS VIEWED WITH LESS THAN WILD ENTHUSIASM. (B) WITH REGARD TO THE VARIOUS ATTACKS ON THE U.S. IN THE FINAL DOCUMENT, I SAID THAT THE MIDDLE EAST SECTION WAS TOTALLY UNBALANCED. UNFAIR TO THE UNITED STATES FROM BEGINNING TO END, AND FAILED TO RECOGNIZE THE MANY STEPS THE USG HAS TAKEN TO TRY TO BRING PEACE TO THE AREA. U. S. VIEWS OF THE ZIONISM-IS-RACISM FORMULA ARE WELL KNOWN, AND THE MULTIPLE REFERENCES TO IT IN THE DOCUMENT ARE BOUND TO RECEIVE THE REVULSION IN THE U.S. THAT THEY DESERVE. SO FAR AS THE REFERENCES TO PUERTO RICO WERE CONCERNED, I SAID THEY WERE, IN MY VIEW, AN UNACCEPTABLE INTER-VENTION IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE UNITED STAATES, AND AS SUCH WERE OF NO CONSEQUENCE.

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6. COMMENT: I DO BELIEVE THAT THE YUGOSLAVS AND THEIR ALLIES HAVE, IN FACT, BEATEN THE CUBANS BACK, AND THAT THIS IS --FROM A U. S. STANDPOINT -- A SIGNIFICANT ACCOMPLISHMENT. BUT I SEE NOTHING TO BE GAINED (AND SOMETHING TO BE LOST) BY QUIET ACQUIESCENCE IN THE STRONGLY ANTI-U. S. TONE OF MUCH OF THE FINAL DOCUMENT. WHILE WE CAN HARDLY HOLD THE YUGOSLAVS, INDIANS, ETC., RESPONSIBLE FOR THE OUTCOME HERE, NEITHER DO I BELIEVE (AND I AM NOW SPEAKING STRICTLY IN THE YUGOSLAV CONTEXT) IT WISE TO ACT UNCONCERNED. WE NEED, I BELIEVE, TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN THE POSITIVE EFFORT TO SHAPE THE MOVEMENT IN WAYS THAT SERVE U.S. INTERESTS, AND POSITIONS THE MOVEMENT TAKES -- WITH YUGOSLAV ACQUIESCENCE AT LEAST -- WHICH WE FIND OBJECTIONABLE. THE ISSUE THEN, SO FAR AS OUR DEALINGS WITH THE GOY ARE CONCENRED, IS TO BALANCE RECOGNITION OF THEIR ACCOMPLISHMENTS WITH APPROPRIATE INDICATIONS OF HEARTBURN OVER THE NAM'S EXCESSES. I BELIEVE THIS CAN BEST BE ACCOMPLISHED BY MY CONTINUING TO COMMENT ON A PERSONAL BASIS. IN OTHER WORDS, I SEE NO NEED, HWERE, FOR AN OFFICIAL USG REACTION.

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7. WE WILL BE MEETING WITH YUGOSLAVS AND DIPLOMATS

INVOLVED IN THE CONFERENCE OVER THE NEXT FEW DAYS TO GET THEIR PERSPECTIVE, AND WILL SUBMIT AN ANALYSIS OF THE CONFERENCE AS SEEN FROM HERE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. EAGLEBURGER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X Capture Date: 01 jan 1994 Channel Indicators: n/a

Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED

Concepts: GOVERNMENT REACTIONS, NONALIGNED NATIONS MEETINGS

Control Number: n/a Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 01 aug 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note: Disposition Action: RELEASED Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW

Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014 Disposition Event: Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978BELGRA05629
Document Source: CORE

Document Unique ID: 00 Drafter: n/a

Enclosure: n/a Executive Order: GS Errors: N/A **Expiration:**

Film Number: D780315-1167 Format: TEL

From: BELGRADE Handling Restrictions: n/a

Image Path: ISecure: 1

Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t197808109/aaaadnsx.tel

Line Count: 174 Litigation Code IDs: Litigation Codes:

Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

Message ID: 00a11759-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc

Office: ACTION IO

Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a

Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a

Reference: n/a Retention: 0

Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED Review Content Flags:

Review Date: 10 jun 2005 **Review Event:** Review Exemptions: n/a **Review Media Identifier:** Review Release Date: n/a Review Release Event: n/a **Review Transfer Date:** Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a

SAS ID: 1567194 Secure: OPEN Status: NATIVE

Subject: FIRST YUGOSLAV REACTIONS TO NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE

TAGS: PORG, YO To: STATE Type: TE

vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/00a11759-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc

Review Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014